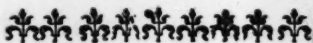




EXTRACT of the *Royall*
Privilege.

BY the grace and Privilege of
the King, bearing date the 20th
of *January*, 1643. and signed *CON-*
RAT, it is permitted unto the *Sieur*
de la Mothe le Vayer substitut du Pro-
cureur Generall of His Majesty, to
cause to be printed a booke of his
Composition, intituled, *OF LIBER-*
TY, AND SERVITUDE; for, and
during the space of ten yeares. And
defences unto all *Printers* or *Book-*
sellers, either to imprint or sell it,
without consent of the said *Sieur*
de la Mothe, or those unto whom he
shall give leave, under paine of
two thousand liures of *Amende*, as in
the same *Privilege* more at large it is
contained.

OF



*EXTRACT of the Royall
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two thousand liures of *Amende*, as in
the same *Privilege* more at large it is
contained.

OF

8. A. 11

OF
LIBERTY
AND
SERVITUDE.

In other Languages
Translated out of the French
into the English Tongue.

And Dedicated to
Geo: Evelyn, Esquire.

VIRG. Eclòg. I.
Melib. *Et quæ tanta fuit Romam
tibi causa videndi?*
Tit. *Libertas : quæ sera, tamen
respexit Inertem.*

(275. O. 16.)

London, Printed for M. Meighen, and
G. Bedell, and are to be sold at their
shop at the middle Temple-
gate. 1649.

Benjamin Hall

LIBERTY

SEVENTH



THE LIBRARY OF THE BODLEIAN
OXFORD
1850

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1850



The *Authors* EPISTLE.

To my Lord, the most
eminent Cardinal
MAZARIN.

My Lord,

Although
I know
sufficient-
ly, that your good-
nesse moves you to
accept favourably,
even the least Pro-
A 3 ductions

The Authors

ductions of Wit,
which are presented
unto you: yet
am I justly so diffi-
dent of mine own,
that it hath suffered
an extraordinary
reluctancy, before
it could resolve to
offer unto you this
little Treatise,
without the Consi-
deration of it's sub-
ject; and (as I must
say)

Epistle.

say) without the
necessity of dedi-
cating the same un-
to you: For, if one
cannot but with sa-
crilege make use
elsewhere of that
which an holy
Place did receive
from our offerings;
nothing but your
sacred Purple
ought to gather
that, which ano-
A 4 ther

The Authors

ther , who is no
more, had deigned
to receive into his
Protection. Per-
haps, your Emi-
nencie may call to
mind to have seen
what I now dedi-
cate unto you in
the hands of the
great Cardinal de
Richelieu: I resign
it now into yours ;
the most worthy
(that

Epistle.

(that I know) to
handle all which
those have touch-
ed : and if it hath
need of any other
recomendation to
render it accepta-
ble unto you, it is
Philosophy, that, so
much in your e-
steeme, which hath
dictated it, unto
me. I am confident,
MY LORD, that

A 5 you

The Authors

you will not disavow an affection which retaines nothing in it, but what is altogether worthy of you. *Philosophy* is one of the most rich Presents, that ever man received from Heaven; it is that which elevates us unto the Contemplation of eternall things,

Epistle.

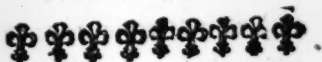
things, and the Science which of all others affords to Princes, as well as to private men, the most agreeable Divertisement. Your Eminencie therefore, if it please, accept favourable that which is derived from so noble a place, and which an heart replete with

The Authors Epistle.
with Zeale to your
service (as mine is)
offers , with so
much obligation ;
This grace I pro-
mise to my self out
of your ordinarie
goodnesse, and shal
eternally remaine,

My Lord,

Your must humble
&
most obedient Servant,

De la Mothe le Vayer.



The Translators
Epistle, to George
Evelyn of Wotton in
the County of
Surrey Esq;

SIR,



*Make bold to
present you
here with a
little Enchi-
ridion, or Treatise of
Liberty and Servi-
tude: Which (in pur-
suite of other Bookes, to
entertain the time with-
all)*

The Translators

all) it was my chance to
encounter amongst the
Stationers at Paris.
And, because it handleth
a Subject, which this
Age, (I know not by
what destiny waited up-
on) doth every where
seeme to pretend unto ; I
thought most proper to
nuncupate it unto you,
whose reall merits, and
known Integrity so just-
ly challenge a part in the
management of those im-
portant affaires of this
Kingdome.

Sir,

Epistle.

Sir, Here is not any thing that I dare call mine owne, save only the Translation, which importeth nothing but the hazard of every mans Censure who understandeth French ; and my good inclinations towards you. The matter is anothers, and entertained by Persons of that Eminency, that I dare presume no man will appeare so hardy, as rashly, either to condemnne, or prejudice it.

This

The Epistle.

This is the first time (as you well know) of mine appearing upon the Theater, which I shall prove to frequent but as Gentlemen who sometimes write Plaies, not often; But lest our little City runne out at the Gates, I will here shut up this Epistle, desiring only the Liberty to remain, as I am,

Paris, March

25. 1647.

Sir,

**Your most affectionate
Friend, and invio-
lable Servitor.**

PHILELEUTHEROS.



To Him that reads.

THis *free subject*, coming abroad in these Licentious times may happily cause the World, to mistake both the *Author*, and the *Translator*; neither of whom by LIBERTY do understand that impious *Impostoria pila*, so frequently of late exhibited, and held forth to the *People*, whilst (in the meane time) indeed, it is thrown into the hands of a few *private Persons*. By
FREE-

To him that reads.

FREEDOME is here intended that which the *Philosopher* teacheth us : *Nulli rei servire, nulli necessitati, nullis Casibus, fortunam in aquam deducere, &c.* not that *Platonique Chimera* of a State, no where existant save in *VTOPIA*.

Verily, there is no such thing in *rerum natura* as we pretend unto ; seeing, that whilst we beare about us those spoiles of *Mortality*, and are subject to our *Passions*, there can be no absolute *Perfection* acquired in this life : And of this truth we have now had the experience of more then five thousand yeeres, during all which tract (to this present *Epoch* of time) never was there either heard, or read of a more equal & excelent form of

Govern-

To him that reads.

Government than that under
wch we our selves have lived,
during the Reign of our most
gracious Soveraignes *Halcion*
daies; The sole contem-
plation of which makes me
sometimes with the sweet
Italian to sing;

——— *Memoria solatus*
Conrammentarmi' il fin
Spesso, spesso vien à rapirmi,
E qualch' istant ancor, ringiovanirmi.

Of which the memory
No sooner strikes my braine
But ah ! transported, I
Methinkes wax young againe.

If therefore we were once
the most happy of Subjects,
why do we thus attempt to
render our selves the most mi-
serable of *Slaves*? *God is One,*
and better it is to obey *One,*
then

To Him that reads.

Mat. 26. 24.
Clandian.

then *Many*. *Neque enim Li-*
bertas tutior ulla est, quam
DOMINO *servire bono.*
That is, —————

In *ipse*



In Nobilissimi, Do-
ctissimiq; D. Tran-
slationem *Alexandri*
Rosae hexastichon.

Quid sit Libertas, quid sit
servire Tyrannis
Instruis Angligenas hic
Evelyne tuos.

Quas pridem Authori debe-
bat Galliagrates,
Has debet lingua terra
Britanna tua.

In ipse Author debet quem ve-
stibus induis Anglis,
Ornatq; doces Anglica
verba loqui.

The



The TABLE of the CHAPTERS.

T*He Proem.*

CHAP. I.

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generall.* page 1

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p. 128

Lemata si quæris cui sint ad-
scripta ? docebo,

Ut si malueris, lemata sola
legas.

Martial.

*Enquire you why this Table's
put before ?*

*I'll tell; if you disgust it, read
no more.*

The

2

12

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m



The Proem.

 *O* *U* did wonder Mel-
poclitus, to heare me
say, that th re were but
very few men Free ; and that
those who were so esteemed to
be , lived for the most part in
Servitude ; that albeis the
whole World apparently brea-
shed after Liberty, yet was she
knowne but to very few people ;
and, that many men contended
for her, without ever obtaining
the least Possession thereof ; as
did the Trojans for the beauti-
full Hellen, when she was in
Egypt. This is that obliges Dion. Chrys.
me to make you participate of *or. ult.*

B

some

The Proem.

*some Meditations, which I
have heretofore framed upon
this Subject, discovering you
the greatest secret of my soule,
and communicating unto you
all, which the Morall that I
exercise doth furnish me with-
all together of most delectable,
and most free thereupon. Let us
therefore begin by some Con-
siderations generall of Liberty
and Servitude.*

O F



even



O F
LIBERTY
AND
SERVITUDE
in generall.

CHAP. I.



Liberty seemes
to be a Pre-
sent of Na-
ture, where-
with she doth
even gratifie all sorts of li-
B 2 ving

ving Creatures: And therefore we see very few who conserve it not as carefully as they doe their own lives; yea many, who often expose themselves, even unto death it selfe, to the end they may not lose the Possession of so great a good. *Philostratus* (who writes on this subject) relates that *Apollonius* refused to goe a hunting with the King of *Persia* because he would not be a spectator of the Captivity of beasts, which they tooke contrary to the right of nature. And in another place he tells us, that although

L 1. c. 23.

& l. 2. c. 5.

though the *Elephant* be of all other Creatures the most docile and obedient to mankind; yet he cannot forbear in the night time, to deplore his servitude. Sundrie *Philosophers*, and principally those of the sect of *Pythagoras*, are pleased to give them their Liberty: and many good *Anchorits* have in that imitated them. Yea there are yet some *Chine-
ses* who purchase Birds, & Fishes, out of meer Devotion, to exercise upon them the same act of charity.

*Mendes,
Pint. 6. 98.*

No man can denie but

B 3

we

wee have oftentimes be-
held living Creatures pe-
rish out of anguish, and
dispaire, after the losse of
this precious *Liberty*. And
certainly it is no wonder,
that they should all be so
passionate to retain it, see-
ing the very elements
themselves, whereof they
are composed, cannot, but
with great difficultie, suf-
fer the least *Constraint*.
In vaine doth any man op-
pose himselfe to their in-
clinations : For as *Aire*
and *fire* cannot be hindered
from aspiring, the *Earth*
alwayes searches the Cen-
ter, and the Course of the
Wa-

Waters will be so free
that there is no resistance,
which to obtaine it doth
not surmount. By this it is
evident how essentiall a
thing Libertie is to our a-
nimal part. Now if wee
consider the superior that
informes us, and by which
we tearme our selves rea-
sonable, we shall then no
longer wonder at this
common aversion of all
men living against ser-
vitude. For without so
much as touching the Pre-
rogatives of our *free will*,
and of that which is one
of the most frequent
Conceptions of our hu-
B 4 manity,

manity, to wit, that the spirit cannot be compelled farther then (as after a sort) it doth consent unto; wee know by the example of the *Angels*, that the immateriall substances are those which doe most of all research the *Independency*. Was it not that which moved the most haughty of them all to covet an elation even above the Clouds, that he might therby render himselfe like to the *Almighty*? in effect, (as saith *Aquinas*) there was no appearance to believe, that *Lucifer*, and those of his Party had ever

Sum. par. 1.

qu. 63. ar. 3.

ever any intention to render themselves intirely like unto God; the most inferiour of men, informed with common sence, would never imagine a thought so extravagant: how then should we attribute it unto *Intelligencies*, so pure, so illuminated as those were (of whom we speake) before their disgrace? doubtlesse it proceeded, from having affected to possesse from their owne selves, and independently, the Beatitude which they onely enjoyed from the hands of God. And hence it is

B 5 that

D. Hier. s. c.
4. ad Eph.

that the *Devill* is named in holy-Writt *Belial*, as who should say, one that desired to shake off the Yoke, and depend no more upon any. Now since we thus naturally seeke to be Free, and so by consequence fly Servitude, not onely like the rest of Animalls, but much more in respect of that whereby we are distinguished from them; and for that which we communicate with the Superiour *Intelligencies*, it implies that man ought to be the most free of all sublunary Creatures. And yet, notwithstanding all this,

this, it is possible, that
there is generally, and
in all respects, no greater
slave than man himselfe.
But of this we shall better
inform our selves if in the
first place we a little Con-
sider in what *Liberty* doth
Consist

In



*In what our Liberty and our
Servitude doth
consist.*

CHAP. II.

THere is a double liberty, to wit, that of the *Bodie*, and that of the *mind*; whereof there is a third composed, which is mixed of these two; the Doctrine of *Contraries* would have us constitute so many different *species* of Servitude. As touching the

the corporall liberty, it is lost by the law of nations at what time any have been superiour in warre, and who instead of putting all their enemies to the Sword, reserved some unto whom life hath been given. This Reservation made the first Servants, or Captives, if we credit the *Latine Grammer*: and the *Greeks*, have affirmed that *Jupiter* tooke from them one halfe of their Spirit, at the very same instant that he condemned them to so miserable a servitude. Notwithstanding, whether it were

Plato l. 6.
de leg.

.2. Hist.

.19. de Ci-
vil. Dei. c. 15

Gen. c. 9.

were so or not, their Con-
dition is contrary to that
antient Privilege of na-
ture, whereof we have
have newly spoken; and it
is very likely it was this
w^{ch} obliged the first *Indian*
Philosophers, of whom *Dio-*
dorus speaks, to prohibit by
a law expresse, the use of
Servants. I know very well
that *St Augustine* maketh
finne to be the Authour of
this kind of servitude; ob-
serving, that there was no
such thing in the world
before the crime of *Cham*,
what time he derided his
Father, who threw so great
a malediction upon all his

Po.

Posterity. But since Warres, and discords have no other *Origin*, than only Sin it selfe, there is nothing in the Latine Originall (of which we speak) which doth not very well accommodate with the Text in *Genesis* : We are onely to observe, that *Christianity* hath extirpated it out of most Places, where the Corporall Servitude hath been well knowne, retaining very few *slaves* within all her extent ; besides those, whom the inormity of their Crimes have rendered such. Thus hath corporall

porall liberty been reestablished, which Consists in being absolute master of ones Proper Person, as being that which the most miserable amongst us may in some sort attribute unto himself, if their misfortunes have not engaged them into the hands of *Infidels*.

The Liberty of the *mind* consists in the understanding, or in the will: if these two faculties do not joyntly possesse it according as the most Part of *scholastiques* affirme. Tis by her, that the *demy-Gods* of Antiquity have vaunted them-

themselves of being free,
even in the midst of Irons,
and chaines; Fortune hav-
ing no dominion over the
Operations of our Soules;
and all the Puissances of
the Earth find themselves
too impotent, to make it
suffer the least violence.
For although it appears
that this Liberty consisteth
in being, or not being a-
ble to apply these two
parts of the spirit indiffe-
rently upon all things; yet
that is not absolutely true:
for certaine it is, that our
understanding cannot all-
wayes impede it selfe,
that it should not *Acquiesce*
at

at the Conclusion of a demonstrative *Syllogisme*, having before comprehended the first and second *Propositions*. Our Volunty cannot (after some sort) embrace the evill, considering it as evill, but doth it alwayes, when it happens to be masked under some appearance of Good. And yet for all this, Reason obligeth us to maintaine, that our Spirit doth no way hinder us, but that we may possesse a compleat and intire freedom; because, should these instances import in them any exception, this impious

pious absurdity would ensue, that *God* himselfe should not be perfectly free, who knowes, and loves himselfe, necessarily, and by the universall consent of all divines. Furthermore, this is a *Maxime* stated in *Philosophy*, that the naturall Powers never exceed the Limits of their formall object, alwayes cohibiting themselves within those Bounds, which *God* hath prescribed unto them: Now we must know that our *intellect* hath no other object certaine, nor formall, than the Conception of that which

which is true; from whence it comes to passe, that they named *verity*, the *sweet food and refectiō of our Soule*; nor hath our will any other certaine, and fixed *butte*, then to unite it selfe with that which is good, naturally abandoning whatsoever repugnant unto it. It follows then (without reversing the order of nature) that our *Spirit* cannot otherwise act, then as we have already spoken; and which indeed doth no way ruine it's Libertie, as by a morall reason wee shall suddenly explicate, according to which we shall

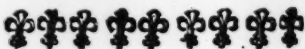
shall find, that to serve *God* is to reigne, and to obey the just lawes of nature, passes for a Species and kind of Liberty. Certainly, we doe not imagine, that a *Bird* should be lesse free to fly, wher he listeth, for not having power to doe it under the waters; nor that a terrestriall animal, should be lesse free (in order to his walking up and down according to his fancy) because he cannot mount up into the heavens, supposing him capable of a desire so irregular. The same reason ought we to frame, touching our spi-

spirituall freedome, w^{ch} is wholly uninteressed, seeing the will cannot be joyned to evill, nor the intellect be satisfied with that which is false, if neither of these two parts be deluded by the appearance of good and true, for as much as it is wholly repugnant to their nature.

These exceptions decided, it is very evident, that humane liberty cannot consist in any other thing, than the independency of our Actions, as well those of the body, as those of the mind; since we ought not to render an accompt to any,

any, but unto *God*, and our
owne Selves, that is to say,
to this eternall reason,
from which we all derive
a beam of illumination, at
the very instant of our
Production into this of
the world; it was therefore
very necessary to know
(that so we might the bet-
ter be able to examine that
which followes) whether
there be any one who can
vaunt himselfe of being
truly free.

That



*That there is none can truly
affirme himself to
be free.*

CHAP. III.

WE cannot deny but
that *Liberty* is one
of the most precious, and
agreeable things of life,
and therefore it is they
have affirmed, That all the
Riches of the Earth are
not equivalent to its true
estimate, should it be ex-
posed to sale; and that the
Pythagoreans detested ser-
vitude

*Non bene
pro toto Li-
bertas ven-
ditur auro.*

vitude by this mysterious
 precept (to wit) that none
 should weare a Ring, lest
 perhaps it might presse,
 or seeme to constrain the
 finger ; passing it for a
 rule indubitable, that no
 man should submit him-
 selfe unto any other, so
 long as he had opportu-
 nity to depend solely of
 himselfe. The *Philosophers*
 ground themselves like-
 wise upon the value and
 sweetnesse of this *Liberty*,
 when they affirme that the
 soule of a *Lover* is better
 pleased, and is in effect,
 more in the Object where
 she loves, then where she

*Alterius non
 fit qui sumus
 esse potest.*

informs and animates ; for that there is nothing besides meere necessity which retaines her in this last habitation, being altogether conveighed by inclination, and a certaine voluntary movement, towards the person where she hath placed her affections. But if *Liberty* deserve that we thus esteeme of her, is it not a thing most strange, that we find so few men who are free ? or (to say better) that the whole *Universe* should be so desperately plunged in *Servitude*, that (to take it well) there is no difference be-

between us who beleeve
our selves to be exempted
from it, and the very *slaves*
themselves, than accord-
ing to the proportion of
more and lesse ? For let us
now be but as attentive
here, as indeed the subject
doth justly merit, and di-
ligently weigh this mo-
rall point but as equitably
as Philosophy requireth
we should doe, in all that
which concernes her ;
where shall we find any
kinde of Life, which doth
not assubject those that are
addicted unto it ? what
profession shall we find,
which hath not her chains,

and tyes whereby shee doth even captivat those whom she imployes? One would think that the most vile estate of life were the most exposed to the miseries of Servitude; because there she appears as it were all naked and with a very little qualification: should we yet farther examine other qualities of life, and but a little lift up the deceitfull maske which disguises them, we should then easily discern, that there were indeed no condition of life whatsoever, which did not oblige us to a so much the greater

greater subjection, by how much the more it is elevated above others, and which hath not its fetters in this, more rude and full of affliction, by how much the more precious they appeare. The manacles of *Astyages* were not therefore the lesse weighty, and paynable, for being composed of gold or silver; *Reniego de grillos aunque sean de oro*, sayes the Spanish proverb; and in effect, there is no kind of great constraint more insupportable, then that which attends upon great authorities, and which is found

mixed as it were with the most absolute power, by reason of the opposition of contraries, which renders their qualities the more active. Thence it is, that they very properly call dignities *Charges*, their weight augmenting, with the prize of their exaltation; & may be said to be, (admit them more estimable than indeed they are, to examine them rightly) but honorable Captivities. Let *Monarchs* attribute to themselves whilst they please the power of disposing, according to their owne fantasie,
the

the lives, & goods of their Subjects ; the Crowne is a fillet which presses the temples so hard, that an Antient did not beleve any man ought to take it up from the ground, if he rightly understood it ; And the reciprocall obligation of Kings to their people is so strait, that (in good Philosophy) *if the Republique appertaines to Cesar, Cesar belongs much more to the Republique.* Let us therefore consider a little how many there are who precipitate themselves, without any obligation thereunto, into a

voluntary *servitude*. Infinite is the number of those who sell their *Liberty*, to acquire oftentimes so inconsiderable a matter, that they would not afterwards have purchased it with their very *Counters*. They thirst after a slight reward, or some other triuall favour, and for which we should be sorry that we had given the least parts of our goods, causes us absolutely renounce all our own wills to follow that of others. Nay, we are so stupid, sayes *Seneca*, that it should seeme wee doe not perceive, how in so doing,
there

there remains nothing more sordid and vile than ourselves, even by our own confession; seeing we value our selves of lesse esteeme, than our monyes, and the rest of that which we possesse.

But beyond all these servitudes which perpetually hold us under subjection from without, there are likewise servitudes interiour, from which happily there is no man living can affirme himselfe to be truly exempt.

Who is he that is not a slave to his passions? and
C 5 where

where is the man that doth not at some time or other, experience the tyrann yof these rude *Masters* of whom *Diogenes* reproached *Alexander* ? One serves loosely to his *Ambition*, another is importun'd with *Avarice*; This man dresses altars to *Fortune*, That permits *Gluttony* to dominier over him; and there is, who suffers himselfe to be transported by the rage, and violence of Love. Certainly there is no servitude so difficult, as that which we are constrained to endure under such merciless Tyrants, nor is there
any.

any man who can boast of being free whilst he shall be compelled to live under their domination. What if we should here introduce the Arguments of the Stoicks, who prove that vice is such an enemy to freedome, that they are two things altogether incompatible: it wil then be easy to discern how far we are deviated from this liberty; seing the most perfect amongst us is so deeply engaged into it. There is not a man (say they) who deserves to be reputed free, but he only that lives according to his owne plea-

*Arr. l. 2. c. 1.
 & 26. & 27.
 c. 1.*

p'caſure : now it is very certain that no man would live in Vice, or that (at the leaſt) deſires the world ſhould take notice of him for a vicious perſon, it being a thing the moſt unfortunate, & ſhamefull in the World. It followes then, that in good reaſon we ought not to call any man free but ſuch onely as have utterly abandoned Vice, and then we ſhall eaſily perceive whether there be any who of right may attribute to themſelves the quality of free men. *Epiſtetus* very pleaſantly derided the *Nicopolitans*, who
uſed

used to sweare by the fortune of *Cesar* that they were in full possession of their *Liberty*; seeing the very naked tearme of their Oath, did evidently demonstrate that they acknowledged the absolute power of the *Emperour*. But there is a great deal more reason to laugh at those who would passe for the most free of the World, because they doe indifferently prosecute, and obey their depraved appetites, & for that they deny nothing, even not to one of their affections; it being from thence whence one may most evidently

dently derive an absolute argument of their miserable slavery; there being no *servitude* more base, and dangerous, than that wherein Vice doth ingage us. Therefore be it that we discourse of the liberty of the *body*, perhaps those who are in *Chaines* are not yet the most abject; or regard we the freedome of the *mind*, there is no person which doth not experience some *species*, & kind of constraint. Is there any man that can deny but that all such as are found living in an erroneous beleefe, and without the
light

light of our true *Religion*,
be not as so many Capti-
vated soules that are daily
forced to admit of false
principles, or beleeeve a
thousand absurdities? But
if the humane liberty be
a composition of those of
the body, and of the *mind*
together, there will not be
found a man who ought to
esteem himself free, which
doth not equally possesse
both the one and the other.
Thus it is they justifie by
so many considerations,
that there is likely no man
who can truly affirme
himselfe to be free. And
because if this proposition
re-

received the least exception, it cannot otherwise proceed than from those who profess to live with-
in a *Liberty Philosophique*.
Let us therefore endeavour to know what it is.

of

*Of the Liberty Phy-
losophique.*

CHAP. IV.

ALthough it appears by our precedent discourse, that one might well affirme of all men, as heretofore of the *Romans*, to wit, that they are as so many *Animals* borne to servitude; some *Philosophers* themselves having taken their infant *swath-bands* for certaine prela-
ges of the captivity where-
in we are to live the rest
of our dayes; yet there
were

were some amongst them who attributed unto themselves a prerogative (like so many *Spartans*) solely to possesse an entire, and absolute liberty. It is in order to this opinion, that *Philo* the *Jew* hath composed a treatise expressly, to shew that every honest, and vertuous man is undoubtedly free; and this it was which caused the *Stoicks* to affirme, that besides their *Sage* there was none who was truly a *King*; as indeed according to their mode, he was the onely man that might (with reason) be called

ed rich, faire, happy, loyall,
 and magnanimous; The rest
 of men not retaining for
 their share, other than
 shadowes and deceivable
 appearances of al these at-
 tributes; this wise man li-
 ving in all so far above o-
 ther men, that he might
 justly glory of being equall
 to the greatest of the Gods;
 In that *Dion* was nothing
 inferiour to him, accord-
 ing to the Paradox of
Chrysippus. Nay, and when
 it so pleased these proud
Philosophers, they have e-
 ven had the boldnesse to
 assert, that there *wise man*
 was more considerable
 here

*Plutar. des
 com. conc.
 contra les
 Stoicq.*

here than *Iove* himfelfe; be-
cause *Iupiter* was neither
free nor happy, but by the
excellence and priviledge
of his nature; whereas
their *Sage* (fuch as they
imagin'd him to be) enjoy-
ed his liberty as well as his
felicity, by the vertue of
his mind, and might have
yet bin otherwise than he
was, had he not elevated
himfelfe to a degree fo e-
minent. *Seneca* (as a *Sto-
icke*) hath in many places
repeated this *maxime*; ad-
ding that *Iupiter* himfelfe
never exceeded his wife
man, but in this fole poynt
(to wit) that the firft was
free,

free, and happy by a longer duration of time, than the other; which thing (sayes he) renders it not a whit the more perfection, seeing (on the contrary) it is alwayes to be esteemed a great artifice, to comprehend much in a narrow compasse. Now to the end it should not be imagined that it was onely the *Stoickes* which had declared themselves with so much presumption, touching the *Philosophers* liberty; you may perceive in *Iamblychus* (who has writtē the life of *Pythagoras*) how he and his *dis-*
ciples

c. 35. de vi-
ta Pyth.

principles persuaded themselves that they were as so many *Gods* upon earth, where they had right to exercise an absolute empire over the rest of mankind; and therefore it is well known they have affected the soveraigne command in all places, where they have been able to establish themselves; and that they might execute this power with the more freedome, they held by tradition, and by a *cabal* confirmed amongst them, that all such as were not admitted or (according as they then used to speak)

ini-

initiated into their mysteries, ought to be respected & used but as meer beasts; to which purpose they had so frequently in their mouths that verse of *Homer*, where *Agamemnon* is called a *Pastor of the people*; to intimate (according to their words) that they ought to treat them like the rest of Animals; and that he which commanded them, might dispose of them, as best him seemed good. In fine we gather both from the *Greek* and *Roman* histories, that to speake of *Philosophers* in generall, they would live so

so freely, and so farr extend the liberty of their profession, that *Athens* (the most free City of all *Greece*) could not endure them; and that the *Republique* of *Rome* was oftentimes constrained to banish them out of her *Territories*. For I will say nothing of the *Lacedemonians*, nor of *K. Antiochus*, & *Lisimachus*; who entertained them not a whit more favorably; because one may perhaps presuppose, that the martial humour of the first, and the small inclination which these *Princes* had to the *Sciences*,
im-

importuned them (without any other consideration) to despise, and neglect men of a life purely contemplative. The History of those who retired themselves into *Persia*, under the reign of *Cosroes*, is very remarkable to this purpose: behold what I recollect from thence. In the time of *Iustinian*, the greatest *Philosophers* within all the extent of his dominions, highly disgusted the corrupt manners of their age; but especially (as *Agathias* L. 2. hist. observes) the opinions at that time received in the *Roman Empire*, touching

D ing

touching the Divinity. To the end they might be more at Liberty, and have nothing which might importune them in their fashion of living, and especially in poynt of their *Religion*, they tooke their refuge into *Persia*. A very short time after made them acknowledge how much they had mistaken themselves; finding there, neither that innocence of life, nor yet that repose^{wh} they so fully expected to meet withal. And although *Cosroes* received them with all possible humanity, and courtesie, endeavoring by all

all meanes to retaine them; yet they esteemed it for the greatest favour hee could doe them, that he would grant them licence to returne back againe to the place from whence they were fled; nevertheless (according as this Historian observes) their journey was not altogether inutill; for *Cosroes* calling them to mind a little after their Departure, in a treaty of peace which he contracted with the *Romans*, stipulated by expresse article (of which he had very great care) that none of those *Philoso-*

Of Liberty

phers should in the least manner be violated, nor constrained to abjure the opinions unto w^{ch} they adhered, & embraced as the best. This story puts me in mind of the insolent demand which once, a most impious *Portuguese* made at *Lions* unto *Henry the third*: to wit, that it might be permitted him, not to adore any other *Divinitie* in his dominions, save that only of the Sun: for without doubt, there may be both an excesse, & a sin too, in desiring a liberty so extreemly unconcern'd, as that should neither submit

mit it selfe to the lawes of
heaven, nor to those of
reason. The transcendent
indulgence of so great a
freedome (to use *Plato's*
owne expressions) is the
source, and fountaine of
an extreame servitude;
because it renders us slaves
unto our owne selves, and
proper passions: and the
greatest *libertine* of all the
Philosophers, *Epicurus* him-
self, hath accknowledged,
that to return truly to on's
self, and be perfectly free, a
man should submit to the
ordinances of *Philosophy*.

And in truth, we learn out
of a much better passage;

8. de Rep d
ibi. Fic.

Paulus 2. ad
Cor. c. 3. v. 17

Paulus 2. ad
Cor. 3. 17

that wheresoever the spirit
of God is found, there it is
where we find an absolute
freedome indeed. But thats
to be understood of a *filiall*
liberty, which alwayes go-
eth accompanied with an
extreame reverence and
respect, & such as is known
by its opposition unto
that servile fear, which ne-
ver quits, nor forsakes the
Yngodly. For we know in
another place, from a text
which was dictated by the
selfe same spirit of God;
that there remaines onely
man alone, whome vanity
hath so farr deprived of
judgment, that he glories
of

Job 1. 11.
v. 12.

of being borne so free, as that he imagines he hath a right to live according to his owne fancy; and who beleeves that it were an offer of violence towards his person to prescribe him *Laws* or make him submit unto any soveraigne whatsoever. Thereupon he is compared to those young foales which endeavour to shake off their yoake, not having as yet bin accustomed unto it; and his brutality is admirably well represented to us by that of the wild *Asse*, whom we behold running through

the desarts without bit or bridle. And albeit we receive from *Seneca* all these lofty sayings of the *Stoiques* which we have already produced ; yet hath he in a thousand places confessed that there was no true Liberty , which did not acknowledge the empire of *Reason*. If thou wouldest submit all things unto thy selfe (saith he in one of his *Epistles*) make it thy profession to obey this *Daughter* of Heaven : Thou shalt command all the rest, if thou render thy selfe plyable to her injunctions. And in another

Ep. 37.

ther place he adds; that the most difficult of all other servitudes is, that which ^{Pres. ad l. 9. nat. qu.} subjects us to our own selves, and makes us to render obedience to all our depraved appetites; for that (as so many mercilesse *Tyrants*) they persecute us night & day, without permitting us the fruition of the least repose; so that there is no man can pretend to liberty, unlesse he do first absent himselfe from a subjection so cruell, and insupportable. And in his *Treatise of an happy life*, wherein he adviseth us that we should ne-

ver take any thing in ill part, or with the least alteration of spirit, of all that which it pleases *God*, or *Nature* to ordayne; he enters into this goodly Consideration, that we are all of us in this world as in an estate *Monarchicall*, where we ought to make it our glory to obey our *Soveraigns commands*; and beleeve, that the most essentiall part of all our freedom consists, in willing that which is the good pleasure of his divine *Majesty*. And seing the Liberty which the same *Philosopher* uses, (to passe some-

sometimes out of one extreme into another) makes him as firme elsewhere, that *Phylosophy* is so free, she neither feares the Gods ^{Ep. 17. & 29.} nor *Men*; let us expound a little those bold words, as we have already done those of the *Apostle*, and assure our selves, that *Seneca* hath not condemned but the base, and criminall feare, which is ever inseparable from vice, and so (by consequent) mortall enemy to those who make it their profession to love wisdom, and follow vertue. Having thus regulated what appertains to the
Phi-

Philosophique liberty; taking it for resolved, that she never ought to extend her selfe to those things which are any way repugnant to *Religion, Policy* and good *manners*; it remaines that we consider whether it be very likely there should any men be, who in all the rest doe enjoy a true *Philosophique liberty*; and who (not having more disirregular passions) despise *Honours, Pleasures, Riches*, and whatsoever other goods are not acquired or conserved but by the losse of our Liberty. For if the saying of
one

one of the *Antonines* be true, that neither *Philosophy*, nor the *Empire* could ever have the power to take away our affections, we ought not then adhere to the affirmative opinion, which imports nothing more in this argument, than specious, and lofty swelling words, more proper to puffe and swell us up unto vanity (on the subject whereon we treat) than afford us the least veritable & solid satisfaction of mind. I know very well that the *Philosophique* contemplations imprint a certaine audacity and confidence

*Jul. Capitol.
in Ant. Pio.*

dence in the soule; which hinders us from being afraid of any thing, making us despise, and undervalue the greatest part of those things that are most esteemed of in the World. *Aristippus* did hereupon vaunt himselfe, that he had gathered this excellent fruit from *phyllosophy*, to be able to speake with resolution and confidence, without apprehension of any person whatsoever. *Aristotle* pronounced before *Alexander*, that it was not lesse lawfull to men, who comprehended thoughts worthy

thy, and veritable, such as we might have of things divine, to possesse an heart elevated, and a courage invincible; than to those who swayed the government of the whole universe, and commanded the most absolutely here on earth.

Diogenes is represented us (in the conference which he had with this great *Monarch*) discoursing with him as with his inferiour. Being once a slave, he requested his *Master* who was to sell him (unto him that offered most) to demand *whether in stead of a servant any body had need*

need of a Master: boasting himselfe to be no more a *Captive* at that time, than an enchained *Lion*; who alwayes makes his *Keepers* more afraid of him, than he apprehendeth his *Keepers*. For all this it is possible that we may on the one side be free, and and yet in slavery on the other: Thus one thinkes himself free from *ambition* who is basely enthrall'd to the passion of *Love*, or *Avarice*; and the importance is, to find out whether our humanity be capable to enjoy by the virtue of *Philosophy*, a liberty

ty so free and independent, as they are used ordinarily to decipher us out in the *Schools*. But to speake soberly concerning this matter; it appeares this *free man*, which Shee represents us under the name of *Sage*, to be rather an *Idea* of that which may be the scope of our desires, than any thing in good earnest: our Imagination for the most part formes unto her selfe a subject which she takes pleasure to embelish with such an equipage of rare qualities, to render it accomplished, that its beyond

yond the ordinary power of *Nature* to render it a true *existence*. And there is much reason to beleeve, that this *wise man*, or this free person (of whom the *Phylosophers* speake) is not lesse difficult to find out, than the *Orator* of *Cicero*, the *Architect* of *Vetruvius*, the *Pyramis* of the *Aegyptians*, and the *Kadai* is *Pyados* of the *Grecians*; Notwithstanding all this I beleeve verily, that there are some men to be found in all ages, who extremely approach this merite; and I am perswaded that we have knowne some, even in

Herod. l. 2.

in these our times ; although they make it for the most part their cheifest care to keep themselves hidden, and *incognite* ; yea methinkes there have bin some beames, which have even darted forth to us of certaine Vertues so transcendent, that in mine opinion, they might well passe for perfect *copies* finished from those *Originals*, which the ages past would have presented unto us. But these are productions of Nature, so rare, that we may well number them amongst the most prodigious, and stupendious

ous miracles: or (to say better) these are effects so particular of the *Divine munificence* (whensoever it pleaseth him to communicate himselfe here beneath) that there is farre more reason to adore the bounty of *God*; than to imagine it the least merite of the *Creature*. In effect, what is more strange than these great *Genius's*, who being perfectly acquainted with the necessitudes of our life (which we may haply reduce to a very few) equally despise *goods*, *honours*, and whatsoever elevates the

Em-

Empire of Fortune? The rest of men are her *slaves*, and consecrate *Altars* to her, as unto some great *Divinity*. These are they who make it their glory to provoke her, and oppose their *Courage* against her *puissances*. Doubtlesse, behold the most strange, and most considerable spectacle that may possibly be; *to see the powers,* *the independency,* *the assurance of a God* (as the Heathen speaks) *united to the imbecility, and frailty of our humane nature.* So it is, that if there be found any entire, and absolute

li.

Ecce res magna habere imbecilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei. Sen. Ep. 54.

liberty amongst us, doubt-
lesse it is residing in these
heroique soules, of whom I
will render you here, two
or Three of Antiquity
for *Examples* : Expresly
abstayning to speake of
so many holy personages
wherewith *Christianity*
doth dayly furnish us, be-
cause in this chapter, wee
pretend to consider this
Philosophique onely which
appeared in the world a
great while before it could
be irradiated by the
beames of the *Gospel*. The
Christian Schoole retaynes
its reasons, and its dis-
course apart. There wee
learne,

learn, that the greatest glory of our Intellect, is not to *know*, but to *beleeve*; as the glory of our *will* is not to *command*, but to *obey*. As touching *Phylosophy*, she is not alwayes so austere; for oftentimes she descends to the satisfaction of an *Infidell*, as well as of a *true beleever*.

Epictetus shall be the first whom I will produce, to shew that many of those of whom we treat, have pretended to be *free men*, even amidst chaynes; and to possesse this independency of spirit, which truely no fetters are able
to

to captivate; but withall, making only a part of this humane liberty, according to our precedent considerations. This great man was a *Stoique*, as you may perceive by his *Enchiridion* or *Mannell* compiled by *Arrien* his *disciple*, being a summary of the *Morallity* which those of their *Self* made profession of. His most memorable discourses have bin communicated unto us by the same *Arrien*, who hath composed foure bookes of them, and so couched them in writing, as an excellent *Painter* uses to draw

draw his lineaments, to represent us the figure of a *Soule*, by so much the more free, & heightned, as his adverse fortune endeavored (it should seeme) to suppress it. This was a *Ball* which rebounded towards heaven, proportionably to the force wherby it was cast against the earth. In effect, although he saw himselfe reduced to the hard condition of Servitude, and to be one of the slaves of *Epaphroditus*, Captaine of *Nero's* guards; yet he alwayes appeared incomparably more free than his *Master*.

E

One

One day that *Epaphroditus* gave him a certaine rude blow on the Leg. *Epictetus* told him, dryly, that he should have a care he did not breake it; This unmercifull *hangman* having at that instant redoubled the stroake, with such violence as he brake the bone: *Epictetus* added, (with a smile worthy of all Ages to be admired) Did not I tell you, that you'd foole and breake my Leg? I know well that *Origen* has censured the impiety of *Celsus*, for daring to prefer the above named *Epictetus* unto **JESUS CHRIST:**

L. 7. c. contra
Celsum.

CHRIST: but this do's not hinder that the vertue of the first, should not deserve to be very much esteemed, although (truly) there be no proportion of God to us, and of the Creature to the Creator. Let us also observe that St *Augustine* was not restrained by this consideration, to hope, or (at the least) ardently to desire that God had mercy upon *Epictetus* soul, being not able to leave off admiring the extraordinary mortification of his senses: and I have seene in the worke of a Doctor of the *Ambrosian Colledge of Milan*,

E 2

lan, that Saint *Carlo Bor-*
romeo heard no lecture
which more pleased him,
than those w^{ch} discoursed
of this *Philosopher* collected
by *Arrien*. It is very cer-
tain, that the generosity and
liberty of the Soule, which
Epiſtetus made alwayes to
appeare notwithstanding
his corporall servitude,
and of which he hath left
us so many important
precepts in writing, ac-
quired him such a repute,
that the very *lamp* of earth,
wherewithall he used to il-
luminate his *lucubrations*,
was sold for three thousand
drachma's, after his de-
cease

cease; at so high a value, was all which appertained to him esteemed: and truly, it may well be said, that for the constancy, liberty, and freedom of the superior part, there was never any person which exceeded him.

A very little time before *Epicætetus*, Rome had seene another excellent *Philosopher* called *Demetrius*; this is he of whom *Seneca* speakes these goodly words, that (in his opinion) nature had produced him to shew the age wherein he lived, that a greater genius might protect
E 3 him.

L. 7. de be-
nef. c. 8.
§ 13.

himself from being perverted by the multitude; although he were not able to redresse it; so incorrigible alwayes it is. And because he had acquired a very high reputation by that open profession which he made of *Philosophique liberty*, the Emperour *Caligula* would have alwayes had him about his person, supposing it a thing very easie to have gained him by a present of moneys. *Demetrius* laughing at the thoughts of this Prince, and rejecting with disdain that which was proffered him: if the Em-
perour

perour (sayes he) would tempt me; if he have any designe to corrupt me, he needs not trouble himself twice; let him at once send me his diadem, & then see; if the price of an Empire were capable to shake my liberty: Certainly, behold termes w^{ch} well deserve to be collected by *Seneca*, and consecrated by him even unto Eternity it self, with all the recommendation which he hath bestowed upon them. For my part, I doe not beleave that its possible to produce an Example more expresse to make us comprehend

*Toto fui illi
experiendum
Imperio.*

with what generosity a *Philosophique* soule doth undervalue treasures, honours, and generally whatsoever others have in esteeme, to preserve themselves the inestimable good of liberty.

One Action of *Socrates* is so patt for this purpose, that I should esteeme it criminall not to allege it, albeit hee were not the common father of *Philosophers*, and he, out of whose braine (as out of some high mountaine) all their different *sects* are derived, like so many separated rivulets. This man of a life
ir-

irreproachable (to speake
 morally, whom *Iustine*
Martyr affirms to have bin ^{Apo. I. c. 2.}
 a *Christian* long before
Christianity it selfe; and
 whom many of our *Do-*
ctors have not as yet dared
 absolutely to exclude *Pa-*
radise) was desired by the
 King of *Macedon*, *Archela-*
us, that he would come
 unto him: he dwelt not
 long on the resolution
 which he was to take here-
 upon; and his answer was,
 that he was not so inconfi-
 derate as to apply himself
 to a man whose benefits
 he knew not how to re-
 compence. However *Se-*

L. 5. de be-
nef. c. 6.)

neca (who beleev'd he could penetrat even into the very interiour of *Socrates*) assures us, that the feare of prejudicing his *liberty*, & delivering himfelfe over unto an inevitable *servitude*, was the only ground of his refusall. Whofoever will be free ought to imitate *Socrates* in that. He that cannot despise the *Court* of *Princes*, & all that which the *Court* can promise of *goods*, *pleasures* & *dignities*, can never enjoy a pure and *Philosophique* Liberty: and he it is onely who (*Philosopher* like) values liberty according

according to her due estimate, that voluntarily abandons all things to the end he may enjoy her. This is that *Diogenes* had very well learned, when of all the favors which *Alexander* offered him, he accepted none but that of rendering him the beames of the *Sun*, which the person of this *Monarch* hindred him from enjoying, by interposing of himselfe. And when he replied to those who called the Philosopher *Callisthenes* happy, (because of the many favours which the same *Prince* conferred upon him

at

at the beginning) that for his part, he esteemed him most unfortunate, in that he could not dine, or sup, but at the pleasure of *Alexander*.

I could yet let you see by fundry other examples, that which these already prove touching the *Philosophique liberty*. *Anaxagoras* to the intent he might procure this freedom, absolutely quitted his *Patri-mony* to him that would accept thereof. Liberty caused *Heraclitus*, as likewise *Prometheus*, to resigne their Scepters into the hands of their brothers.

And

And *Empedocles* renounced the government of a *Monarchy* (which was presented him) for the love he bare unto her. I might add that *Pythagoras* made almost the same reply to *Hiero*; *Diogenes* to *Antipater*; *Zeno* to *Antigonius*; *Stilpon* to *Ptolomy*; *Xenocrates*, *Ephorus*, and *Menedemus*, to *Alexander*, which *Socrates* did unto *Archelaus*: but I suppose to have sufficiently cleared two things; the one, that this liberty is not absolutely intire; because she is oftentimes only *intellektual*; the other, that she

is.

is so rare, because of her
 solutive faculty from
 whatsoever most strictly
 obligeth, and restrains our
 affections; so as we may
 very well indulge those
 who doubt of her real *Ex-
 istency*. For if the least
 imaginable constraint, or
 trivial engagement, be ca-
 pable to dispossesse us the
 fruition of so great a good;
 and if this *Spanish* sentence,
Quien me ata, me mata; he
 which binds me, kills me, be
 (as I take it to be) the most
 proper devise, that a man
 may assume who pretends
 to be in the *Philosophique*
liberty; who is it, I pray
 fol-

(following our precedent conjecture) that hath the face to attribute it unto himselfe? Truly, I doe very much doubt whether there be any man can do it with conscience, w^{ch} being so, we shall not make it any difficulty to repeate in this place; *That perhaps there is none at all, who can truly affirme himselfe to be free.* The Examples of *Demetrius* and of *Socrates* advertise me (in that which remaines) to reflect upon the *servitude* of the *Court*, as it stands in opposition to the greatest *Liberty* which is the *Philosophique*

phique, by the greatest *ser-*
vitude which we presume
to be that of the *Court*.

of

*Of the Servitude of
the Court.*

CHAP. V.

SEeing the end (as the first in our intention) is that which regulates all our actions; it is no wonder at all that where the greatest recompences are proposed, there should also be found the most laborious, & difficult travailes; and that the Pretentions of the *Court* being so eminent, and (as it were) almost infinite, obligeth those that attaine them,
unto

unto extreame servitude. There is nothing to which a *Courtier* doth not submit himselfe that he may comply with this sweet hope which never lets him be at rest, and which the *Italians* have very aptly termed, *the bread of the miserable*. The Flies cannot be hindred from following the honey, although one *Ant* trauailes more way in a few houres (according to the proportion of his body) in searching some grains of Corne, then doth the Sun in all his quotidian revolutions. It is the *Prey* which makes the most

most solitary and cruell of
wild beasts to quit the for-
rest: and a fairer bait ob-
liges the poore fish to
precipitate himselfe into
the net, or at least to
swallow the hooke; but
the passion which all these
silly Creatures have for
that which they most af-
fect, is not comparable to
the desires of *Courtiers*,
who bequeath the fairest
dayes of their life, and vo-
luntarily renounce their
liberty, upon the empty
believe which they have
to bee one day able to
satisfie the uttermost of
their desires: For albe-
it

it experience hath taught the world, that the service of *great men* is like unto long voyages, from whence indeed some there be which returne rich; but where the most part also miserably perich: and although it be easie to observe that few of those who plunge themselves into this vast Ocean of the *Court*, ever arrive at their desires, and can boast themselves of having transported *Pearles* from thence; yet will no body (for all this) take warning, and gaine by the sad example of others. Every one
pio-

promises unto himselfe
fortune more propitious
than any of his compani-
ons found her ; and as one
Vessell happily arrived
from the *Indies*, is the cause
why an hundred others
undertake the voyage,
(without considering that
a thousand have bin Ship-
wracked) so the good
fortune of one sole *Cour-
tier* is the cause that there
be innumerable who im-
barkethemselves to steere
the same course which the
other hath gon before, not-
withstanding all the ha-
zards of a sea so full of *Py-
rats*, as is the *Court*, and so
obnoxious

obnoxious to all sorts of weather. But to leave *Alle-* the
gories, and as it were with th
the finger point out that de
which wee have alrea- tha
dy spoken touching ser- bo
vitude, and which in it is the
almost impossible to e- m
vade; we shall consider it the
in the one, and the other effe
part of the *body* and of the her
mind, according to our di- *Con*
visions already establish- and
ed; and shall make it I g
cleare, that if there be no my
slaves more miserable, wh
then those who are daily wh
in chains, *Courtiers* may in hat
that sence passe for the red
most unhappy amongst sure
men. I

I should be very sorry
that any man should take
this which I am about to
deliver for a *satyre*, and
that which I have read in
books for a description of
those things which I
might have observed in
the Court of *Princes*: in
effect, I reflect on nothing
here save the antient
Courts, those of *Barbarians*,
and *Tyrants*, from whence
I gather all the proofes of
my discourse. The liberty
which I assume to alledge,
what the *Philosophers* of
that time have decla-
red against them, is a
sure testimony of the
esteem

steeme which I make of
 the Courts of *Christians*;
 and above all, that of *Ours*,
 which would never per-
 mit me to speake in this
 manner were it guilty of
 the same defects: besides, it
 would be both imperti-
 nent, and unjust, that I
 should be blamed for that,
 which so many others
 have done before me; and
 since a *Pope* (such a one as
 was *Pius* the second) durst
 before his *Pontificat*, and
 during the time he was
 yet called *Aeneas Sylvi-
 us*, describe all the mis-
 ries of *Courtiers*, prote-
 sting that hee did it
 without

*L. de miser
 Curialium.*

without designe to offend
either the Emperour *Fre-*
drick his Prince, or his
Court; why should any
man take in ill part these
Philosophique reflections
which I propose upon the
same subject; and that
which hath nothing of the
asperity which this *An-*
thor, and infinite others,
have mixed in their writ-
ings treating upon this
matter? And if I have
bin(as it were) compelled
to observe certaine vices
in generall of the *Court*,
occasion may offer it selfe
(another time) to proclame
the vertue thereof, and to
F speake

speake particularly of its merit.

For my part, I doe not beleeeve that any (except such as have never seene the *Court*, or so much as heard speake of the aire, & fashion of living there) can be ignorant of the extreme personall subjection which he is obliged to render day and night, unto those men whose favour he desires to obtaine. There is no body in that *Country* but ought to be even ready to mutilate, and dismember himselfe like *Zophyrus*, that by so doing hee might
insinuate,

insinuate, and serve to the advance of what he there searcheth; Not, that where the service of ones *Prince* is concern'd, a man should not be obliged even to expose both his life, and fortune for a subject so worthy: all Nations have unanimously consented to this politique principle (*to wit*) that there is no death more glorious, more meritorious, than that which is received for the affection to his *Souveraign* and love of his *Country*: Notwithstanding, there is a great deale of difference betwixt the actions which

F 2 have

have so noble an object, albeit they cannot otherwise than testifie a necessary servitude, and such, whereof we shall here produce *Examples*, which have for their foundation nothing but an infamous flattery, and a servill baseness of spirit. *Philip* of *Macedon* having been constrained to weare a fillet, by reason of a wound which he had received on the head; the greater part of those of his *Court* come abroad with the like, as if they had all of them had the same occasion. His son *Alexander* contracted this

this ill habitude to carry his head awry, which was the cause that there appeared not a man in all his equipage, but such as inclined their necks likewise to the same side. The Young *Dionysius* was naturally pur-blind, and the wine which he loved excessively did much shorten his sight; by and by, all his *followers* feigned themselves blind, every man jostling his fellow, and stumbling at every foote: and *Athenus* ob-

I. c. 10.

to find the dishes, affecting also to sit in the place where the King used to spit upon them, with other the like sordidities, which it were a shame to report. This kind of voluntary blindness puts me in mind of that which one writ of the Emperour *Hadrian*: the extraordinary love which he had for *Antinous* (whether because of his exquisite beauty; or for that he offered himselfe a *Victime* at the *sacrifice* which was celebrated for the prolongation of the *Emperours* life) gave him a passionate

onate desire to have this young boy placed amongst the number of the Gods ; *Hadrian* had no sooner declared himselfe thereupon, but immediately those of his Court protested (contending who should first bring the tydings) that they had seene the soule of the Fayre *Antinous* ascend on high, and take his place as a new star, in that part of the heavens, where we doe at this day observe the constellation which beareth his name. And indeed one ought never approach greater powers (according

is not known,
his history.

Gal. 3.

to the saying of *Xenophanes*) unlesse we be resolved to practise all kind of complaisance. The agreeablenesse of dissimulation doth almost every day surmount. the homely simplicitie of truth; nay, and some would have it passe for a rule of *Court*, to confesse that he perceived the starrs, if another would maintaine it to be night at high noone; or, being become a little better versed in the *Court*; to excuse our selves, for that wee have mistaken the *Moone* for the sun. So it is, that besides this shamefull

full captivity of all the
fences, we are basely ob-
liged to submit unto those
of other mens. The per-
son of a *Courtier* is so lit-
tle in his owne power, that
(to take it rightly) he en-
joyeth it not but as a thing
meerly borrowed, and as
having engaged the pro-
priety which he possessed
there. For (without speak-
ing at all of ordinary du-
ties which consume even
almost all the precious
movements, and actions
of this life; and without
touching an infinity of
perills wherein it's necessa-
ry he should expose him-

self almost every moment) the sole complaisance doth sometimes cause him as it were out of frailty to deprive himfelfe even of a part of his body. *Lucian* tels us that the Eunuch *Combabus*, favorite of *Seleucus* and passionately beloved by the *Queen Stratonica* his wife, had no sooner declared to the *Affyrian Court* (to the end he might thereby avoyde all calumny, and suspition) that he had dismembred himfelfe of the parts which he wanted; but suddenly those whose hopes depended upon his favours

did the same, and voluntarily deprived themselves of that, which onely rendered them men, to the end they might not lose their expectations, and continue themselves in the good graces of *Combabus*. This shall suffice to demonstrate how great the servitude of the *Body* is.

It will be needlesse to insist much upon that of the mind; seing this is the most common of all other *Maximes* of the *Court*; never to have other will, than that of *great mens*; nor to judge of any thing whatsoever (if there

there be any meanes to
avoyde it, untill they have
first passed there opinions;
that so nothing may be
spoken which may be ob-
noxious to the least ex-
ception. There is perhaps
no religious *vow* whatso-
ever, that exacts of us any
so entire a renuntiation of
all the actions of our pro-
per *will*, as doth the inte-
rest of the *Court*, and the
designe of making a for-
tune there. From thence
is it results this great
conformity to the incli-
nations of *Princes*, and that
if *Francis* the first testified
his affection to letters, all
the

the world will be learned ;
not esteeming him a good
Courtier who bred not his
children *Scholars*: On the
contrary , doth any *Prince*
despise the *Sciences* , every
one affects *barbarisme* ? *Lux* ,
and superfluity was estab-
lished through the dis-
soluteness of *Henry*
the third, as was *Pitty*
when he assumed the weed
of a *Penitentiary*. In fine
this is a thing universally
acknowledged of the world
that the *Court* is a place
of perpetuall dissimulati-
on, where one allwayes
walkes with the visage
in *Mascarado*, where one
feignes

feignes to desire that which he most abhoreth, and where there is no one act produced of *free will*, unlesse it be that by which we embrace a voluntary *servitude*.

But as touching the operations of the *Intellect*, they are in Court so much the more subject, as the prostitution of this part is effected without much violence, in those who make all other considerations whatsoever, to give place to those of profits; such is the most frequent custome of the *Court*, after that a man is never so little

little engaged in the enchantments of this *Circes*; and verily, I lesse wonder at some men, who indulge themselves this liberty, to represent the terrestrial *Gods* rather such as they ought to be, than such as really they are. These (I say) are not the most culpable (although sufficiently blame worthy) who content themselves in styling their *vices*, imperfect *Virtues*, and discover every day goodly names which serve for coverture unto all their defaults. But this is a thing altogether deplorable, having
respect

respect to the liberty whereof we speake, when we submit even unto the basenesses of the mind, and to flatterings so enormous and ridiculous, that one even appears to have made bankrupt all manner of judgement. *Alexander* the great was constrained to heare one of those infamous cajolleries, when one of his court (whom *Atbenens* nameth *Nicesius*) protested to him that the very flyes which sucked his blood, became more valiant, and gave stings more couragiously than other flyes did. The *Philosopher*

Lib. 6.

losophers Anaxander (not-
 withstanding his professi-
 on) treated this *Monarch*
 after the same manner,
 when upon a clap of thun-
 der (which was very ter-
 rible) he desired that he
 would say whether it were
 not hee, who (as sonne of
Iove) did but even now
 thunder so loud. *Con-*
stantine was compelled
 to stop the mouth of a
Priest, who told him that
 his Vertues merited not
 onely to command (as
 hee did) during this life;
 but likewise to reigne in
 the other also, with the
Sonne of God. *Procopius* (or
 to

*Euseb. l. 4.
 de vit. Const.
 c. 4.*

P. 61.

to say better he that hath made the *Anecdots* under his name) representeth the great Civillian *Tribonius*, not ashamed to use these tearmes unto *Iustinian* : I sweare to your Imperiall *Majestie*, that this great *Pietie* which you alwaies exercise, giveth me extraordinary apprehensions, that I shall behold you suddenly assumed into heaven, when we least expect it. To this likewise are conformable those words of *Hesychius*, touching the impiety of *Tribonius* in his life ; And we know also, that at an entry

entry of *Demetrius* into
Athens, one told him, there
was none other *God* save
himselfe; or that, if any,
they were busie in sleep-
ing, & taking their repose,
during the time hee
acted. After this sort it
is, that crimes so easily
immingle themselves, and
that in an extreame impi-
ety we may observe a won-
derfull strange dissolute-
nesse of mind, which is
for the most part attended
with a feare, which ne-
ver abandons even the
very *slaves* themselves.
Harpagus being asked by
Astyages, if he had well re-
lished

lished the flesh of his sonne, of which hee now but newly had eaten with a prodigious inhumanity; answered, that at the table of his *sovereigne*, there was nothing ill, and that whatsoever was don by his command was to him most agreeable. *Herodotus* (who relateth us this story) doth yet furnish us with another upon the same subject: *Cambyses* having placed for his butt or marke, the heart of a young boy which he transfix'd with a dart in the presence of his *Father*; demanded of him,

him, what his opinion was of the shot, to whom the father answered, that he did not believe even *Apollo* himself could have levelled more exactly. Truly I am of *Sene- ca's* judgement, that although the cruelty of the *Tyrant* was very notorious; yet was the reply of the *Father* farre more impious. *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est; quam e-* L. 3. de ira
missum. At the least no C. 14.
man can deny, that these are not examples sufficiently pregnant, to shew what may be expected from the liberty of the judge-

judgements of the *Court*; where we ought to resist even the most just, and sensible movements of nature, to the end we may say nothing which may displease such as are feared, and adored there. If *Alexander* will be taken for one of the *Gods*, the *Priests* of *Love* are the first who attribute unto him the rayes of the deity, and acknowledge him for the reall sonne of *Hammon*.

But happily these mental captivities would appeare lesse strange to us, suffered we them only to comply with those unto whom

whom otherwise we cannot render too many respects. It would be no wonder to see that *Favorinus* betrayed the honour of his knowledge, and reason, in favour of an *Emperor* who commanded thirty *Legions*. And in effect, when the *Ecclesiasticus* hath delivered us the Precept never to make shew of over great abilities before ones *Sovereign*: It seemes that he would incite us to this flexibility of mind, which we ought ever to have in presence of him, and those principall *Ministers* who do

do represent the Person of the *King* ; and to whom he communicateth a beam of his lustre , and authority. But the mischief is, that we must oftentimes exercise this our obedience towards persons which doe least merit it of their Sovereign. We beare more respect to a favorite of *Pompeys*, than unto *Cato* of *Utica*. And the whole world hath observed the insolent authority of the *Eunuchs* in most of the *Levantine Courts* ; of *Libertines*, in that of the Ancient *Italy* ; and of a number of the same

same state who have (in fundry places) abused the favour of their *Masters*. For *Princes* sometimes please themselves in imitating those great *Architects*, who remove huge Machines, with very small engines. They extreamely delight to have power to act as *causes universall*, in changing (according as they seeme good) the destinies of their subjects. And to represent him the better whose lively *Image* they are here on Earth, exalt some one from the Dunghill, even to the sublimest dignities and most important charges of their *Palace*. Men are their *Counters*, which signifie in value more, or lesse, according to the Position which they are pleased to assigne them. And after the

same manner as every man may when he writes, make such, or such a letter of the *Alphabet* precede, which best him pleaseth; *Kings* are in possession to bestow the principall places of honour, and authority within their states, unto those whom some particular inclination causeth them to be preferred before others. In the meane time, whatsoever may be (for *History* makes it evident that the election is not alwayes equall) we ought not lesse to submit our discourse, and reason to all their pleasures, than to the will of the *Soveraigne* himselfe; for that many times the *Prince* is not accessible, but through their mediation. The most inferiour of his *Petty Officers* who hath the honour

nour to approach his sacred person at the houres of his retyrement, and private divertisments, may easily enough make, or marre, advance, or retarde the most important affaires. And therefore it is, we see in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that those of *Tyre*, C. 12. and *Sidon*, desirous to be reingratiated with King *Herod* (who was offended at them) addressed themselves unto *Blasius*, Prime *Groome* of the Privy Chamber, by his meanes to make their peace. And I well remember upon that, of a *Persian* tale, which perhaps is no jot inferiour in subtilty to any one of those which the Antients have attributed unto *Æsop*. A King (says the fable) having made proclamation that they

G 2

should

should assemble all the beasts of burthen which could possibly be found, to serve in the Warr that he undertooke; the *Fox* was no sooner advertised thereof, but immediately he flies; that he might avoide the perill of so unprofitable an employment; by and by he meets the *Wolfe*, who (instead of imitation) derides him, that he did not conceive that the ordinance onely respected those beasts, who were proper for burthen, from wch they were altogether exempt; Do not you rely upon that, replies the *Fox*, for (I tell thee) that if those which be about the *King* once take the caprice, that we may serve as well as the rest, we shall likewise be compelled to goe, or, at least, infinitely suffer, before his *Majestie* can

can be rightly informed of our reasons to the contrary. It is no difficult matter to extract the sence of this ingenious *story*, and so judge of what importance the favour and Authority of those (wee speake of) doth concerne us. This is it which doth infinitely multiply the servitude of the *Court*, w^{ch} renders the subjection much more insupportable, & that which makes it be numbred (as I conceive) amongst those felicities which the *Ecclesiastique* reckons up; c. 25.
even the happinesse, not to have our liberty engaged unto those *Persons* who deserve not the least subjection unto them.

The goodnesse of that government under which we live, giveth me the hardinesse to explaine my
G 3 selfe

selfe with a liberty worthy the reign of *Lewis the Iust*; As he is one of the greatest *Monarchs* on Earth, and the most worthy to be admired; he is likewise the best of all, and such a *Prince*, that there is no imaginary liberty, which can possibly be so sweet, and advantageous unto us, as the obedience which wee render him. After his example, the greatest of his *Court*, exercise an authority so well moderated, that I do verily beleeeve to be able without danger (as well as without fear) to report the defects of others, and say in generall, that which was almost continually blamed in the *Palaces* of other *Princes*. The *theme* which hath hitherto adduced me hath too far absented me from *flattery*, to adde any

any thing which doth so much as approach it. And I know the *genious* of his *Majesty*, and of those who have the most power about him, to be so averse from those adulterate, & false praises (of which we have but newly spoken) as by that only, I should feare to become odious, and blame worthy, were I but so inconsiderate as to make use of them. Truly there is nothing which the most glorious *Potentates* ought so much to detest, as a flatterer, which ascribeth to them such extravagant, borrowed *Encomions*, when as they merit nothing but such as are proper, and veritable. And therefore it was that *Lyfippus* boldly affirmed, he had more honoured *Alexander*, representing him holding a speare

in his hand; than *Apelles* who had painted him brandishing & fulminating the *lightning*, like *love* himself. And indeed we read in the History of this great Conqueror, that he laughed at a certaine *Artist*, who had the vanity, to undertake of the Mountaine *Athos*, to carve out the figure of *Alexander*, if hee would but have given him commission; as also, how on a time he cast the booke of *Aristotle* into the river, which he passed, as unworthy, because of some ridiculous, and incredible exploits, w^{ch} he writ that *Alexander* had performed in a *duell* against *King Porus*, wherein he was never yet engaged. *Attila* was touched with the like resentment, when he condemned

*Lucian de
scrib. hist.*

demned to the fire, in *Pavia*,
the verses of a certaine *Poet*; for
that to render the Pedegree of
this *Scourge of God* the more il-
lustrious, he had derived it from
so farr, till he extracted his descent
even from the immortall *Essences*
themselves. And verily they had
(in my opinion) good reason so
to treat them. For my part, I
esteeme modesty to be one of the
most essentiall parts of *Praise*;
nor should I beleeeve I had yet ren-
dered all the honour and respect,
which I owe unto these *Heroes*, and
to our great *Lewis*, were it not
that the silence wherewithall I re-
verence them, and which I doe
voluntarily impose on *my selfe*,
composed the better part of their
Praise.

The Conclusion.

BEhold here, *Melpoclitus*, what hath so often traversed my thoughts, and of which I verily perswade my selfe, the meditation will not be altogether fruitlesse, in the necessity which sometimes engageth us to accommodate with the neevitable subjections of life: For, if it be true, that to affirme ones selfe *free* we ought to be exempt from all kind of corporall, and Mentall servitude; if there be no man who may challenge a right of attributing that liberty solely to himself; since every *Kings* themselves be not enfranchised from certaine duties which doe most strickly oblige them to their people:

ple: If those *Philosophers* who would be esteemed (in this respect) Paramount all *Crownes*, and *Dia-*
demes, have rendred themselves slaves to *vanity*, as well as other men are of their *Passions*; If (I say) the servitude of the *Court*, diametrically opposite to the *Philosophique liberty*, captivate such a world of people (accordingly as we are compelled to demonstrate) may we not then well conclude that there is not any Person, who is absolutely free? which thing being so, every one ought to satisfie himselfe in that condition of life, to the which he findeth himself engaged, or (it may be) attached unto; although (happily he therein find likewise some species of subjection, since (that in fine) *we are all obliged quietly to acqui-*

130 and Servitude.

acquiesce, upon that which the Divine Providence hath determined on this point of our LIBERTY.

FINIS.

Reader, The absence of the Translator (whilst the Booke was in Presse) and many errors of the *Amannensis*, request thee either to pardon these *Errata* following, or else correct them thus.

Page 6. line 13. for elation. read elevation.
p. 12. l. 4. dele have. p. 18. l. 10. r. is repugnant. p. 27. l. 16. dele great. p. 30. l. 9. for They, r. The. lb. l. 15. r. to renounce. p. 32. l. 4. for these rude *Masters*, r. those. &c. p. 45. l. 8. dele a. p. 47. l. 1. for importuned, r. imported. p. 58. l. 14. for disirregular, r. disregular. p. 65. l. 9. for incogulte, r. incognito. p. 66. l. 14. for *Genius's*, r. *Geminus*.

